574 he leaves. They observe some of these ceremonies for Father Raymond when he goes to see them.

[68] CHAPTER X

Their Commerce

439 They trade with everyone with whom they are at peace. But their trading does not involve much of value, and they do not ask for much. When they come to see us they bring tortoises, pigs, chickens, parrots, fish, pineapples, cotton hammocks and other works of theirs. In exchange we give them axes, bill-hooks, knives, cloth to make sails for their pirogues, glass beads, crystals, and other begat elles. When they have more of these tools than they need, they carry them to other Caribs of the islands or mainland and exchange them for caracolis, green stones (which are good against serious illness), or other similar things. That is the extent of their commerce or trade.

● [17] Previously, when they had no commerce with the Europeans, they used stone axes and knives. They made their fish-hooks from scales of the tortoise, or, probably, from the border shell, which is harder than the other scales. One still sees these old instruments among them, although they no longer use them.

CHAPTER XI

Their War, Enemies and Weapons

624 [726] Our Caribs do not make war properly speaking, since they never fight a pitched battle but make surprise raids. Also, they hardly attack those who are on their guard unless they have a tremendous advantage in numbers. They have chiefs chosen from the most valiant and from those who have killed the most enemies. They do not choose young men, even if they are the sons of old chiefs. They choose mature and courageous men, whom they esteem a great deal while they still have all their strength, but to whom they no longer pay any attention when they become old. There are two at present

3. Feasts and Manners

572 The word compere [literally: pal] is in usage in all of the
●177 islands where there are Caribs -- among the French when they trade with their Carib friends, and among the Caribs when they speak in French to those with whom they have become friends. A Frenchman gives his name to a Carib and the Carib gives his name to the Frenchman. Even if he does not give such a man his trade, at least he prefers him to others, and this does not fail to give him some profit. [320]

422 The Caribs have so few belongings that they are able to carry all of them with them, without having any desire to acquire more.
437 Thus when the Caribs have a tortoise which they want to exchange for a knife, they will not trade it if you should offer them two axes for it. The reason is that they have a need for the knife, although the axes are worth more. Our own possessions, although high-priced and scarce, would have no value among them. [291] The Caribs do not use terms for buying and selling. They ask without haggling and one gives the article to them for that which is offered without difficulty. [312]

511 The Caribs cannot fail to rank as church paupers, and to have the love of Jesus Christ, and to be accepted by the Kingdom of Heaven. For they possess neither gold nor silver and they have neither bag nor wallet, nor coat nor staff, and they do not even have the desire to obtain them. A hut to protect them from the elements satisfies their ambition. Tomali [tamale?] is their stew, and crabs are the
415 most delicate food that they have. Calabashes serve them for crockery, and baskets serve as chests. Earthen pots are used as kettles and cauldrons. When they change islands and when they go to another
574 carbet, drink and food are not refused them. They reciprocate equally
[264] to others in a similar situation, provided that the others do not arrive too late, for they save nothing for the following day. [316] The Caribs ask fearlessly, and give freely, when they have something. [273]

574 The Caribs have their accustomed civilities. One particular man
576 is in charge of receiving those who visit. He makes ready a hammock for them if they are important, or a stool if they are common, and has them sit. He summons a woman who carries to the guest a small wicker table which is laden with cassava and other things and it is set in front of him. Then the man in charge says, "My compere, this is for you to eat." The visitor replies with a thank you. If the cassava is unfolded

755 they prepare a matoutou table in the middle with cassava and ouicou as we have stated previously. The boye comes at night, since he is a child of darkness and abhors light. He carefully extinguishes the fire in the house and does not allow any fire to burn in the surrounding area.

● 177 In this connection I cannot pass in silence an incident which happened to Father Raymond [Breton]. He was warned one time that they were going to make the devil enter a house which was near to his own. He decided to go there in order to compel the devil to flee and to rid the people of their false beliefs. He began to walk over with a burning brand in his hand (he had no torch or lamp because they don't use them). The women came out dismayed, and gathering in front of him mixed their speeches with abuse telling him that he wished to ruin them all. Their god was already in a rage, they said, because he could only enjoy himself in the dark—that he abhorred light. The good Father courageously replied that he was not in the least frightened by the anger of this spirit and that the power of God, who was worshipped in pure truth, was stronger than all the artifices of a devil who cheated them. The women replied that if he advanced further he would provoke their husbands to mistreat him. He did all he could to advance and to rid them of such a strange superstition, but because he did not yet know the language too well, he was compelled to go back to his own house.

755 To return to the narrative, after the boye has come to the house at night he begins his seance among those who have called upon him. He performs the ceremonies we have mentioned and the god or the devil of medicine falls from above in the midst of the house, snapping his fingers in the same way as our barbers do when they shake the water off their hands after having washed a beard. This devil of medicine answers in a clear and distinct voice all questions which are asked of him. If the sick person is to die, it is stated that this will happen and no aid is given to him, everyone abandoning him as if he were already dead. If, on the contrary, it is said he will recover, the master and the valet, in other words the boye and the false god, get near the sick person and feel and press him, handling several times the afflicted part, blowing on it meanwhile. Sometimes they draw out of it, or pretend to draw out of it, thorns of palma Cristi as long as fingers, small bones, snake fangs, and splinters of wood, persuading the sick person that these things were the cause of his pains.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

sur le point de la mort"), he shows a general liking for his hosts, calls them his friends, and says that theft and lying were unknown to them before the advent of the Christian Europeans—a statement confirmed by La Borde, Rochefort, and Labat. Rochefort further says that while the Caribs of St. Vincent and Dominica were slave owners they never evinced the same cruelty as was common among the whites, but treated their slaves, except for the obligation of work, more like their own children than anything else. Breton gives the native name of Dominica as Wâitukùbuli.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), inasfar as it left the then unsettled island of Dominica "to the undisturbed possession of the native Indians," was violated by the English only 12 years later, on the pretext that the French had made establishments on the island. From then on until the end of the century these two pillars of civilization ousted one another from their respective nests as often as and whenever opportunity offered; and we can well imagine that between them "the native Indian," if not exterminated, was driven more and more into the fastnesses of forest and mountain. Writing in 1795, Atwood, in his history of Dominica, mentions as still prevalent the Carib custom of head deformation, and the skill with which even the children used bow and arrow. Even the memory of both is now lost, though as late as 1862 the Dominican Caribs sent the following articles to the London Exhibition: A "nest" of 12 baskets, bows and arrows, hebichet (manioc sifter), rattles, powder flasks, dishes.

Although I know of no records for that time, it is probable that the first half of the nineteenth century was the period of the Dominica Caribs' final conversion to Christianity, and of the greatest decay in national language, tradition, and custom. An old Carib still living told me that previous to the middle of the last century there was no church in or near the Reserve, but that some Caribs used to go to Marie Galante in their canoes to attend mass, or to have their children baptized.

In 1877, and again some 15 years later, Salybia, around which the Caribs were already concentrated, was visited by the American ornithologist, Frederick Ober, who appears to have been the first person since the middle of the eighteenth century to take the slightest interest in this last isolated island tribe. It is noteworthy that he is still remembered in the Reserve today by men and women who could have been little more than infants at the time of his visit. Ober's "Camps in the Caribbees" is a travelog and, as such, unsatisfactory as to ethnological data—as much by lack of detail as by the constant suspicion of inexactitude, or rather, poetic license. I have spoken to several sons and daughters of Ober's two guides at the time of his first visit, and none of them claims to remember having heard such a story as that told by Ober of his encounter in the forest

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

765 The belief in the "uncanny" quality of the newly dead as well as of the newborn and yet unnamed child is very widespread. Whatever its origin, the local priests condemn this ceremony; and several have assured me that there is nothing in the Christian religion to justify it.

526 Until recent years a type of wrestling was much practiced by the Dominica Caribs whenever they were drunk or quarrelsome. I have never witnessed it personally, but from the accounts of all those who have, it seems to have been more in the nature of a sporting contest than of an aggressive attack.

Childhood: Games and Pastimes

000 Fred Ober wrote of the Carib children of Dominica in 1877 that they should be the happiest on earth because of their freedom to play and wander naked among rocks and river pools. Perhaps. But children the world over are usually happy as long as they are well, and rarely appreciate relative advantages or disadvantages. The street urchin of our own lands takes the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" as much for granted as does the pampered darling of wealthy parents his movies, candy, and other luxuries.

291 One may still find Carib youngsters clothed as nature made them
● 177 running around and about their homes. This does not mean that they never wear clothes, but merely that dressing is to them what dressing up is to our children. The school has come to Salybia since Ober's time, and although few of the present generation of young Caribs have learned anything of value to them there, they have come to regard the everyday use of clothes and shoes together with the talking of broken English as marks of especial superiority. Can we blame them? The Negro policemen who have established themselves in the reserve despite Carib protest, the Negro storekeeper in Marigot where they run errands for their parents, their own Negro schoolmaster—they all do these things, and who shall deny that such august personages are their Carib elders' superiors in authority, wealth, and knowledge of the world?

855 Undemonstrative as they are, the Caribs show a great deal of affection for their children, and an almost equal reluctance to discipline or punish them. In consequence, the children do pretty much as they please, and neither eat, sleep, nor bathe at regular hours; but get their whack of coffee, rum, or whatever else is going. Like other young people brought up in the tropics, they seem apathetic when compared with those of northern climes, and will often sit quiet and idle in a corner for hours rather than bestir themselves to go out and play.

857 Even their games are usually of a sedentary order. In "pick-up," a game common to several parts of the world, the players squat opposite

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

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wal'bukurú (wal'burukú) —water yam (*Dioscorea* sp.).
wawi'amó —squash.
yuri —tobacco.
yut'u(gh)u (C) —kind of palm (*Syagrus amara?*).
yuya (C) —fine, hair-like prickles on cane, etc.
tawá'i (C) —kind of tree (? see word for manioc).
hwáhwú —tree (generic).

The following, given to me as Carib, are obvious corruptions and [177] show how Carib absorbed foreign words:

ça'uldru' —cauldron (French, chaudière).
pula'tu —dishes (French, plats).
bakaçu' —cow, ox (Spanish, vaca).
kabayu' —horse (Spanish, caballo).

On the other hand, many words of current Creole patois appear to be of native origin. Such are (French orthography) canari, cali, cabouya, counou, hôbichet, manni, toumalin, djolà, djokoma, samboi, bacheua (a fish pot of woven liana). The meanings of these terms are made clear in the other sections.

Before going on with the Carib names of fish, reptiles, birds, animals, etc., it may be as well to look at the all-too-few other parts of speech I have been able to collect as separate words. They consist of numerals, qualifying adjectives, and verbs, together with their derivatives:

a'lá —one.
bis'ma —two.
ó'rua —three.
biaau'huri —four.[1]
çamahá'ñi —good (as to senses) it is.
irupo'ñi —good (as to fitness) it is.
hí'matli —sweet, it is.
yetiamni —injury, hurt, pain.
yuhá'mani —evil, badness.
kyá'mahya-áli, (kyá'mahya-ái) —it is cold.
hí'iaha-áli (F) —he is dead.
áshwá-ali (M) —he is dead.
chalaha-ali —he is drowned, immersed.
çá'ru —hard, green, not yet ripe.
ma'ru —soft, overripe.
ka'haru —exposed or turgid glans.
ma'niçiha tíbu' —false, lying thou art (*m*, negative; a'niçi, heart; tíbu, thou hast).
mahuiru —incompetent (perhaps—"splashless" from ahu, bone).
há'huiyá' —gluttonous, voracious.
ma'huiyá' —(see above, but looks like adjectival form. Breton gives mahi'huiyá'—"ungood").
(h)aça'rua —to get drunk (thou).
(a)ba'rama —to call father, husband, master.
chi'rakua —to pierce, spill, copulate.
(a)hí'nakha —to dance.

[1] The Island Caribs seem never to have got further than four. Five was expressed as "all one hand." If on two hands, six.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

The Caribs have an ancient and natural language, such as is peculiar to them, and also a bastard speech, with foreign words, chiefly Spanish, intermixed. Among themselves they always use the natural language, in conversing with Christians the bastard speech. . . . The women also have a different speech from the men. . . . It hath been observed that the men are less amorous than the women; both are naturally chaste; and when those of other nations look even earnestly at them, and laugh at their nakedness, they were wont to say to them, 'you are to look on us only between both the eyes.' . . . Yet, it must be confessed that some have degenerated from that chastity, and many other virtues of their ancestors, the Europeans having taught them many vices,—to the perpetual infamy of the Christian name. . . They are great lovers of cleanliness, bathing every day; are generous, hospitable and honest. . . . It is also a manifest truth, confirmed by daily experience in America, that the holy sacrament of baptism being conferred on these savages, the devil never beats or torments them afterwards as long as they live.[1]

"The Carib boys were compelled to pierce their food suspended from a tree with an arrow, before they could eat it. . . . They are said to have used poisoned arrows, dipping them in what must have been the urrari poison, obtained from Guiana. . . . Like many natives, they eradicated the beard and the hair on other parts of the body. . . They compressed the skulls of new-born infants; and a hatred of the Arrowaks was instilled. . . . Their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground and drawn together at the top, covered with palm leaves, and in the centre of each village was a building larger than the others for public assemblage.

"The Caribbeans are a handsome, well-shaped people, of a smiling countenance, middle stature, having broad shoulders

[1] See Davies's "History of the Caribby Islands." London, 1666.

291 against insect bites, but which gave them the appearance, as many
[303] travellers reported, of a boiled crayfish. Later their dress consisted, for both sexes, of a cord passed around the body, holding a loin-cloth smaller than a pocket-handkerchief. The men and the young boys
[412] always wore a sharpened knife between the cord and the thigh. Today the surviving Caribs lack picturesqueness; in contact with the white
[177] and black creoles, they have taken over their clothing. The men wear trousers and a shirt; the women wear a long dress of a light color, similar to those in which the negresses dress. Like the latter, their heads are covered with a madras kerchief. Only the children of both sexes go about clothed in a short shirt or completely naked. Former-
[304] ly it was the custom, shortly after birth, to deform their heads by flattening the skulls by means of a small board.

301 The Carib women do not actually seem very coquettish, and wear few ornaments, though at the time when the roucou was their only piece of clothing, they did not neglect ornaments; they adorned themselves with necklaces, and bracelets, and at adolescence they wove for themselves a kind of legging which they wore around the leg between the calf and the ankle, and which they never took off. Even the men adorned themselves, on important occasions, with metal ornaments called caracoli, which they wore in their ears, nostrils, lower lips, and on the chest, not to speak of the black stripes which they sometimes painted on their faces and bodies or the multicolored plumes with which they adorned themselves.

157 The Caribs are not very expausive and melancholy is the basis of their character; their faces bear the mark of sadness and disdain. They are vindictive, and never forget their injuries, and are particularly formidable when they are under the influence of alcoholic
[273] drinks (1), for which they have a great weakness. Cherishing their

1. Before the Europeans brought alcohol to them, they made themselves a fermented beverage, called ouycou.

independence above all, servitude is distasteful to them and they do not wish to lose their liberty at any price. /137/ Merciless toward their enemies, they are kind and generous to their friends and are
462 very cordial in the exercise of hospitality. Of an unconcerned disposition, the men spend entire days in doing nothing, asleep in their

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

After the evening meal, the short period before sleep is usually occupied in recounting in great detail the day's experiences. Like archery and pottery, cotton-spinning and hammock-weaving have become things of the past; and as the average Carib home possesses at most one bed, most of the family sleep on the floor or on hard wooden benches.

Death, burial, and mourning customs have been discussed in a previous paper.[8]

There is in the Carib Reserve no ownership of land other than the right to its produce and further exploitation conferred by continuous use. It is otherwise with (planted) fruit-bearing trees, houses, domestic animals, tools and implements, furniture, and the produce of various pursuits whether in cash or kind. Children are given gardens, trees, young pigs or hens for their own. Grown offspring are of course expected to contribute as best they can to the general economy of their (joint) family so long as they remain with it. But when they go to live with a wife, or to make a separate establishment, they take away with them whatever things or rights are theirs. Thus, the house and its contents belong to whichever spouse built, bought, or inherited them, and in the case of separation would be so allotted. In the event of the death of one of the spouses, the surviving spouse inherits the property of the deceased, but is expected to divide movables in excess of personal requirements between grown offspring or deceased's nearest kin. Provision-gardens may, unless apportioned before the late owner's death, be left intact to be worked communally by the surviving spouse and offspring. The fact that all children are allotted gardens, pigs, etc., of their own tends to prevent squabbles over inheritance. A deceased wife's parents are supposed to help their widowed son-in-law unless and until he remarry into another family. When both parents are dead, the house and its contents belong by right to the youngest surviving child, irrespective of sex. Other property may continue to be held communally (when the family remains together), or be divided equally among all the children or according to agreement or to the expressed wish of the deceased. The "old-time" Caribs are said to have been "uncivilised" because they never left anything for their children.

Kinship, reckoned bi-laterally, is recognized to at least the fourth degree (common law), and often far beyond. Nevertheless, it is rare that any obligation is acknowledge outside the joint family. Therefore, because this is largely matrilocal, greater concern is usually shown for mother's than for father's kin. The (Creole) kinship terminology current today naturally reflects French rather than native social structure, but there are several peculiarities in its employment

8 Taylor, *The Caribs of Dominica*, p. 121.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

which point to Carib or African influence. Such terms as compère, commère, parrain, marraine (contracted to nenène in Creole), filleul, are rarely used (at least in address) in modern European speech; and comboose (relationship between men having had intercourse with the same woman), never! The words for child (ɛ̃fɛ̃, ʾrĩ) are used in preference to those for son and daughter; for brother's child, sister's child, rather than those meaning nephew and niece; while seniority is always indicated in designating siblings, especially an eldest brother or sister (gʷɛ̃fʷɛ̃, gʷɛ̃ sɔr sɛ̃). Children sometimes address the latter as da or dada, a term they otherwise reserve for their maternal grandmother, and which means, among Creoles, *(children's) nurse*. Pap (or papa), mam (or mamɛ̃) are used to and of father and mother, pɛr (< père) and mɔpɛr being reserved for priests. FʷɛR (< frère) and sɛR (< soeur) or sɔR are used in addressing elder siblings, fʷɛR and mɔR in addressing those with whom one made the First Communion together. The latter term also is used of and to a nun. Grandparents may be addressed as Pap N–, Mam N–; N– standing in most cases for their own given names, but in two recorded cases for that of their youngest children. GʷɛpapɛR (< grandpapa) and gʷɛmamɛ̃ or gɛgan are employed chiefly in reference. The latter term is applied to a woman's relationship to the child she put into the world (as a sage-femme) whether or not it be her own grandchild.

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS

In the following list, pronominal prefixes, separated by a hyphen from the stem, are:

1st person: i-, in-, ya-, yen-; k-, ki- (man speaking)
n-, na-, ni-, nu-; w-, wa- (man or woman speaking)

2nd person: a-, e-, ay-, ey- (man speaking)
b-, p-, ba-, bo-, bu-; h-, hʷ- (man or woman speaking)

3rd person: l- (-li, -ri, -ti) (male class)
t-, d- (-ru, -tu) (non-male class)
nb-, nba- (-riɥ, -yɥ, -aɥ) (common plural)

Alternative forms of the same term are given under the same number. Those still remembered (1942) are in italics. Forms and interpretations not given by Breton are in parentheses. Plurals are indicated by pl. d is a nonaspirate voiceless stop; f is a voiceless bilabial spirant; q is a glottal g or k; ñ replaces Breton's digraph /gn/. The last sound did not exist in recent Carib at least, its place being taken by /y/ with nasalization of the preceding vowel. A hook (as ɛ̃) denotes a nasal vowel.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

On the other hand, as the Spanish loan-words employed by the Carib of Breton's day show, they had already become familiar with iron, nails, wire, etc.

Rouse derives Columbus' "caribales" from "the term *Calinago* or *Calino*."[19] Breton gives: Callínago (Breton's *ll* probably approaches an apical *r*; while omission of the collective suffix, -go, would give Callina) as the men's, Calliponam [karipona] as the women's name for their tribe or nation. The form "caribales" is more likely to have come from the latter than from the former term.

"*Carib* men and women had certain differences in language, which may have been due to the fact that many of the women had been captured from the *Arawak*."[20] The persistence of such differences among the modern Black Carib of Central America (as also, by all accounts, among the last native speakers in Dominica and in St Vincent), would be hard to explain on similar grounds. Rouse seems to be unaware of the fact that, by Breton's time at least, the Cariban dialect of the Igneri's former conquerors had been reduced, in the speech of the Lesser Antilles, to much the same part as had Norman French, by Chaucer's day, in that of post-Conquest England. Therefore, although the Dominica Carib told Breton that they and the Guiana Galibi were of the same descent, their language was already basically different: "Le langage de nos Caraïbes est différent de celui des Gallibys de terre ferme"; and "Diversa utriusque linqua, licet illi ab his descendisse in Insulas dicant."[21]

"No estimates of the original population of the *Carib* islands have been discovered."[22] Nevertheless, the 1647 *Relation* speaks of the Caribs being "quite four or five thousand" in Dominica, and "sans nombre" in St Vincent; and elsewhere comments:

> It perhaps be asked why there are so few of them, especially in view of the multitude of their women. They tell you that it is on account of the Christians; for, as one of them told Father Raymond, the Spaniards twice massacred all the Savages of the island of St. Christopher; and once those of Guadeloupe, of whom there escaped only one woman and her children who ran away to the mountains, and, so they say, bred there. They tried to do the same in Dominica, and managed to kill quite half of those there. Since then they have been decimated by small-pox, which they call varioia, and of which some died rotting, being still ignorant of any cure for this disease. Moreover, everybody captures and carries off or kills them: Flemmings, English, Spaniards, and their Allouagues, who are their enemies.[23]

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19 *Handbook*, p. 549.
20 *Ibid.*
21 Armand de la Paix, p. 49; Breton (?), p. 132; both in Rennard.
22 *Handbook*, p. 549.
23 Armand de la Paix, pp. 112 and 48.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

W. H. HODGE and DOUGLAS TAYLOR *

THE ETHNOBOTANY OF THE ISLAND CARIBS OF DOMINICA [1]

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the earliest contacts between North America and South America was made almost certainly by way of the West Indies. Precolonial records of men and materials from these islands are therefore of unique interest to the Americanist. Unfortunately now when it is possible to investigate primitive Antillean societies we find that we are too late, for the aborigines have nearly all disappeared. Nor can we rely on the early chroniclers of this region (15) (35) (42) for their bulky writings are filled not with valuable notes of native «curiosities» but rather with lengthy accounts of their own personal problems.

Where local terrain in the West Indies permitted white settlement and exploitation much of the native flora and fauna, including man himself, disappeared. Among such elements was the Island Carib. Like other Indian groups of the Antilles he was naturally opposed to the adoption of the sort of production organized solely for the enrichment of white men. With the Carib went many of the plant products that he used for food and drink, shelter, comfort and adornment, medicines and charms. These native species were for the most part replaced by imported species which had proved of greater commercial value to the invader. Fortunately among the Antilles there proved to be at least one sanctuary, the island of Dominica.

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[1] The British West Indian island of Dominica, sometimes confused with the Dominican Republic in Hispaniola, is one of the Lesser Antilles and is located between 15°-10′ – 15°-40′ north latitude and 61°-44′ – 61°-30′ west longitude, more or less equidistant between the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique.

In redazione il 7 Novembre 1956.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

137 declined in numbers. Many of the more desirable species are *arbres de chasse*, the distribution of their fruits aided by native doves and forest pigeons. The extinction of such « hunter's trees » tends to reduce the avian population. The inevitable result is a depletion of both fauna and flora.

177 All these are signs that Dominica may no longer continue to be a natural West Indian reservoir of wild life. The Caribs are also in danger. Negro infiltration and the coming to the Indian Reserve of a church, of a school, and of a police station have led not only to the abandonment of the Carib language but also to the loss of much of the tribe's stock of nature-lore.

The opening up of new land has pushed the forest much farther from the Caribs' homes than it was even thirty years ago. Difficulty in obtaining from the forest those raw materials needed in basketry and in dugout canoe building has brought about a gradual decline of these and allied crafts. One result is that the [241] Caribs now have more time to spend tending imported crops planted in their provision grounds. These gardens, like all others in Dominica, are cultivated without deep digging or manuring on the primitive system of clearing and burning the forest, gathering one or two crops, and moving farther afield. Another result [224] of the retreat of the forest is a decrease in the number of hunters. These men were naturally the best acquainted with those wild plants which could be of use while in the woods. Moreover many « medicines » and vegetable « charms » were operative for success in the chase; and the knowledge of the virtues of such plants [824] remained the property of individual hunters or of their families. The loss of the hunter class has thus meant the loss of much plant-lore.

177 The addition of an extension to the Imperial Road (the principal 491 high road of Dominica), which now practically cuts the island in two, will probably complete the process of culture disintegration and of forest disintegration. With these will go still more of the plant-lore and, as elsewhere in the West Indies, the road system may even lead to the extinction of many interesting species.

121 From the above it is easy to see that an ethnobotanical paper on the Island Carib is timely. The value of ethnobotany as an aid in tracing the origin and migrations of peoples and in ex-

[text continues on p. 518.—Ed.]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

« men's speech » was then — and in all probability long had been — a secondary language learnt in late childhood for reasons of prestige. According to Island-Carib tradition, which there seems to be no cause for doubting, the explanation of this peculiar situation is that these islands had been conquered before the coming of the Europeans by a band of *Galibi* (*Kalina* or *True Carib*) warriors from Guiana, who had taken the female inhabitants to wife and killed all the men.

What we may call the national language of the historical Island-Carib is no more Cariban than is English, since the Norman Conquest, a Romance language. But although it is, like them, Arawakan, Kariphuna (Island-Carib) appears to have emerged from the parent tongue centuries before Taino, Lokono, Goajiro and Paraujano; and was therefore most probably brought to these islands by a separate migration. From radiocarbon dating it now appears, on the other hand, that the type of pottery known as « White-on-red », and found only in the valley of the Orinoco and in the Antilles, was being made on the lower Orinoco as early as 800 B. C., while a pre-ceramic culture flourished at the same period on the neighbouring island of Trinidad. At that time, the ancestors of the above-named Arawakan-speaking tribes formed, in all likelihood, a united people speaking one language; and we may conjecture that the first split came about through a partial migration that took horticulture and pottery to Trinidad. The geographical situation in historical times of the Taino, Island-Carib, and Lokono further suggests that the first migrants spread in the course of time to other, more northerly islands, where they were subsequently cut off from their fellow tribesmen in Trinidad by a second migration from the mainland — that of the Island-Caribs' Arawakan-speaking ancestors, who had not participated in the first migration.

It may be fairly assumed that horticulture and pottery were already known to an Arawakan-speaking tribe ancestral to all those we have mentioned so far; but it would not be surprising had the later migrants, whether friendly or hostile to the earlier settlers, introduced innovations that were welcome to the latter dwellers on the periphery of a culture-area. And indeed Taino and Island-Carib have in common several culture words that, whatever their ancestry, are not shared by Lokono or Goajiro, whose basic vocabularies apparently are closer to that of Taino than to that of the Island-Carib. So, for example, the basketry 'sifter' is called *hibis* in Taino and *hibiset* in Island-Carib, but *manale* (borrowed from a Cariban language) in Lokono; the little tree, *Bixa orellana*, whose fruit provided a red paint, is called *bija* in Taino and *biset* in Island-Carib, but *sirubuli* in Lokono; *Genipa americana*, whose fruit provided a black stain, is called *jaua* in Taino and *saua* in Island-Carib, but *laua* in Lokono; and the pineapple is called *iddiosa* in both Taino and Island-Carib, but *nana* in Lokono. Institutional friendship, known both to the Taino and to the Island-Carib (but not to the Lokono), was designated as *natiao* (by the former) or *natiad* (by the latter) 'our friend', *datiao* (by the former) or *nátiad* (by the latter) 'my friend'. This last example also suggests a closer genetic relationship between Taino and Lokono, which also has the prefix d(a)- as marker of first person singular; compare Lokono *dabitudu* 'my clan' with Island-Carib *nábitaru* 'my (fishing-) line', string (for bow), etc.

Also the Carib invaders of the Lesser Antilles undoubtedly brought with them changes and innovations, many of which are reflected in the vocabulary. To judge from the latter, these mainly concerned affinal (as opposed to con-

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174 sanguineal) kinship, religion and ritual, warfare and navigation, basketry and
●177 house construction. Among the plants that may have been introduced by
them we may mention a fish-drug (*Clibadium sylvestre*); an herb for curing
192 arrow wounds; the arrow reed (*Gynerium sagittatum*); a marantaceous plant, *Ischnosiphon arouma*, that is still the principal material employed for basketry, and the cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*). It is worth noticing that a considerable number of the cultural words that were borrowed presumably from Cariban Kalina are also found in Tupí.

The most recent invaders of these islands, the Europeans themselves, introduced a large number of new things and concepts, together with the words that, for the most part, served the Island-Caribs as models for naming them. BRETON's dictionary (7) contains some six dozen of these loan-words, of which the great majority comes from Spanish (although thereafter borrowing was mainly from French). These include the names of various weapons, tools, clothes and ornaments; of bread, wine, salt and sugar; of carpenter, Christian, coast-guard, king, priest; of Englishman, Flemming, Frenchman, Irishman, Negro and Spaniard; those for the pig, cow, cat, rat, horse, donkey, goat, sheep and hen; those for the coconut, pine (presumably wood rather than tree), and sugar-cane; and those for church, prayer and baptize.

What may be called the political history of the Island Carib in early
175 colonial times has been summarized in another work (58, Introduction), from
which the following citations are taken: « ... by 1493 they had halted in their
648 advance, and, except for sporadic feuds of an almost personal character, had established friendly relations with their neighbours to the northwest, the Taino of Puerto Rico, alongside of whom they fought as allies in the unavailing attempt of its inhabitants to defend that island from the Spaniards... Little is heard of the Caribbee islands from the time of the Tainos' defeat, until, in 1622-1623, St. Kitts (Saint Christopher's) was 'rediscovered' for the French by d'Esnambuc, and for the English by Warner. But although they remained unconquered throughout these years, they did not escape ravage. In 1515 the Carib of Guadeloupe... repulsed a Spanish attack under Ponce de Leon; and defeated, in 1520, an attempted settlement of their island led by Diego Colon, governor of Hispaniola. Laudonniere was told by the Carib of Dominica... — where he touched in 1564, and peaceably traded hatchets, knives, and beads for plantains, pineapples, and sweet potatoes — that they greatly feared the Spaniards, who came thither and 'cut off their stones'. And from this same group Father Raymond Breton heard similar complaints some seventy-five years later ».

Guerrilla warfare between the Europeans and the Indians, with peaceful intermissions, continued throughout the seventeenth century, as one island after another fell to the Dutch, English, or French; until, in 1660, these last two powers signed a treaty guaranteeing the « perpetual possession » of Dominica and St. Vincent to the Island Carib, who on their side, undertook to cease raiding the European settlements on the other islands (this agreement was reaffirmed in 1748 in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle). Nevertheless, the conflict continued; and by the turn of the century the Indians had been reduced, according to la Borde, to some four thousand souls divided between the two islands still remaining to them. The end came in 1763, when England, at the treaty of Paris, formally annexed both Dominica and St. Vincent. However, the Indians, though henceforth confined to the more inaccessible

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called *kuáksi*. Basketry « satchels » slung by a cord or band from the shoulder (*bakúla*), and « travel-baskets » carried in canoes or used in the home for storage (*iamáti*), are closely woven in twill or wickerwork and in a variety of patterns. Moreover, each such basket consists of a « head » and a « bottom » which telescope into one another; each of these in turn being made in duplicate of an outer « skin » and an inner « member » between which layers of cachibou leaves (*Calathea lutea*) are arranged in such a way as to render the container waterproof.

For obvious reasons, stone implements, bone fish-hooks, and (later) baked-clay griddles and bows and arrows ceased to be made as soon as they could be replaced by their more efficient European equivalents. Nor have hammocks or pottery been regularly made for the past hundred years. But most of the basketry, dugout canoes, bromelia fishing-lines, wooden mortars and pestles and troughs, cane-presses, and calabash vessels are still made and used; while horticulture of the « slash and burn » variety is still carried on by means of the billhookshaped « cutlass » and the dibble or digging stick.

In their gardens or provision-grounds, which were (and are) always situated on the interior heights behind their homes, various kinds of manioc and sweet potatoes predominated. « Pumpkins » (*uauíama*) and maize were secondary crops. Plantains (*balálu*), an importation from the Old World, and possibly bananas (of a variety called *bakáku*), were cultivated soon after the Conquest, and soon became very popular, as also did one tropical American species of yam (*Dioscorea trifida*, Island-Carib *kúsu*). The present-day predominance of other true yams from the Old World, oriental « dasheen » (chou de Chine), and New World tania (Island-Carib men *táia*, women *uáko*) is of recent date among the Indians of Dominica. With the exception of tania, these crops would seem to have been taken over from the Negroes in the last thirty or forty years in order to offset a decline in game, wild foodstuffs, and fish.

Island-Carib men continued to learn and use a special vocabulary of Cariban ancestry, which gradually dwindled until, a generation before the last native speaker of the Dominican dialect died (about 1920), this consisted of little more than a score of words, among which were those for « I » (m. *áu*, w. *nukúia*), « thou » (m. *amóro*, w. *bukúia*), « man » (m. *uókori*, w. *eiéri*), and « woman » (m. *uóri*, w. *kiaru*), employed in a language whose flexions, syntax, and other basic vocabulary were essentially Arawakan.

Until the present « Carib Reserve » was formed in 1903, the Indians were scattered in various settlements along the north, east, and south shores of Dominica. The reservation is situated near the middle of the windward coast, and comprises 3700 acres of rugged indented coastline to which spurs run down from a mountain chain running roughly north and south. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dominican Island-Carib had, according to du Tertre, acquired a few slaves; and it is probably with these that miscegenation started. Today the Reserve has about five hundred inhabitants, of whom not more than a fifth can reasonably be considered as « full-blooded » Amerindians.

Plant lore among the Carib may be roughly divided into three classes:

1. Species, wild or cultivated, which are or may be used for food or drink.

2. Species, wild or cultivated, which are or may be used for domestic purposes, including the making of dugouts and all implements and utensils pertaining to hunting, fishing, gardening, food gathering and preparation.

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Anatherum zizanioides Hitchcock and Chase, Contrib. U.S. Nat. Herb. 18: 285. 1917. 814x

Khus-khus [7]. — Vetiver.

Vetiver is a native of Asia but is cultivated in the tropics of both hemispheres.

Screens used to perfume living quarters are constructed from the roots of this species (23). In Dominica, as elsewhere, the roots are dried and bundled to place in drawers for scenting linen, etc. [314]

The leaves of vetiver are bleached by boiling, are sundried, and then are split in two by the Caribs for plaiting hats. [285]

Specimen citation: 227.

Zea mays Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 971. 1753.

Maize, Indian Corn. — Maïs (French); mal, mi (patois). — *audsi* (m) (cf. Tupi *abata*), *márisi* (w).

Maize is a tropical American contribution to the world's cereals, yet the exact source of its origin in the Americas is still debatable. It has been grown as a basic American crop since prehistoric time, and even in pre-Columbian days was cultivated from southern Canada to Chile and Argentina (1) (21) (22). Corn was first seen growing in the West Indies by Columbus, who called it maiz. According to MANGLESDORF and REEVES (38), the flint corn so characteristic of the West Indies, was probably introduced from South America although it is most closely related to Central American types. [177]

Corn is grown for food by the Island Caribs who always eat it roasted, never boiled; nor is corn flour ground locally. Actually this vegetable is more a delicacy with the Indians than a staple food, and is reputed to have the properties of an aphrodisiac. Kernels of maize are sown or planted in preference by newly pregnant girls who believe their condition will cause the plant to bear more abundantly. As in all other agricultural activities — sowing and reaping, felling timber, etc. — planting of corn is rigidly regulated by the phases of the moon. 814x 243 [252]

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

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[7] Varieties of the yam (*Dioscorea trifida*) with purplish, reddish, or whitish flesh are also called « khus-khus » or « kus-kush » in Dominica.

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tropical origin and was grown in the Americas in pre-Columbian time, its exact homeland is unknown. Columbus saw sweet potatoes for the first time in the West Indies where they were grown apparently by Carib and Arawak (69).

Many types of sweet potatoes are cultivated in the Carib Reserve, but the red watery variety, often erroneously termed « yam » in the United States, is most popular. From this form of sweet potato a sort of beer used to be made either with or without the addition of cassava. Thirty years ago sweet potatoes were much more extensively grown by the Caribs, and today seem to have been largely displaced by taniers (*Xanthosoma* spp.), dasheen (*Colocasia esculenta*), and yams (*Dioscorea* spp.).

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Ipomoea pes-caprae (Linnaeus) Roth, Nov. Sp. 109. 1821. Beach Morning-Glory. — Patate Bord la Mer. — *kaúkule.*

A creeping herbaceous vine, common as a pioneer halophyte on coastal sands throughout the Old and New World tropics.

The leaves of patate bord la mer are ingredients of several different ritual baths used by the Caribs for various purposes. One such bath utilizing this plant is described under *Ocimum micranthum*. Another bath effective for any sickness caused by piai utilizes, in addition to the leaves of patate bord la mer and the root of gingembre douleur (*Hedychium coronarium*), the leaves of the following plants:

acacia (no specimens seen but undoubtedly a local species of *Acacia* or *Mimosa*).
chardon béni (*Eryngium foetidum*).
figuier (*Ficus* sp.).
honteuse (*Mimosa pudica*).
kré kré trembleur (tree specimen not seen but definitely *Melastomaceae* and probably a *Miconia*, species of which are known in Dominica as kré kré).
kudjuruk (*Petiveria alliacea*).
larali (*Clusia plukenetii*).
mabizou (*Lantana camara*).
maho piment (*Daphnopsis caribaea*).
malbruk (*Piper* spp.).
mal l'estomac (*Piper* spp.).
pipe zandoli (unidentified but possibly *Aristolochia unguicida* DC.).
poirier blanc (*Tabebuia pallida*).
roi bois (*Psittacanthus martinicensis*).
roku (*Bixa orellana*).
sou marque (*Cassia bicapsularis*).
'ti baume (*Hyptis atrorubens*).
wawet (an unidentified marine seaweed).
yam jaune (*Dioscorea cayenensis*).

Specimen citation: 810, 2960.